VIETNAM COURIER

Supplement N° 225

MEMORANDUM

ON THE OCCASION OF THE 15TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE SIGNING OF THE 1954 GENEVA AGREEMENTS ON VIET NAM

I

THE 1954 Geneva Agreements ended the French colonialists' war of aggression in Viet Nam, recognized the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights—the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam—and laid down principles for preventing a new war of foreign aggression against the Vietnamese people, thereby ensuring a lasting peace in Viet Nam, Indo-China, and Southeast Asia.

But, betraying the pledges it took at the closing session of the 1954 Geneva Conference, the United States has never ceased throughout the past fifteen years to trample grossly underfoot the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people.

By the instrumentality of the Ngo Dinh Diem administration—its creature—the United States torpedoed the holding of the general elections to reunify Viet Nam and carried out an increasingly crude intervention in South Viet Nam in an attempt to turn it into a U.S. military base and neo-colony and to prolong the partition of Viet Nam. The "special war" started in 1961 to save the Saigon dictatorial regime, then in danger of collapse, ended in dismal failure. As from 1965, the United States massively brought in U.S. expeditionary troops for aggression against South Viet Nam, and on the other hand, conducted a war of destruction against the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The past fifteen years were marked by a fierce struggle between, on the one hand, the U.S. imperialists who impudently sabotage the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, and on the other, the Vietnamese people who, united as one man, resolutely exercise their legitimate right of self-defence to safeguard their fundamental national rights as recognized by the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

The Vietnamese people have won increasingly great victories. The Vietnamese in the North have defeated the extremely barbarous war of destruction conducted by the U.S. Air Force, Navy and artillery, and compelled the United States to unconditionally stop the bombardments on the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam.

The Vietnamese in the South have frustrated the neo-colonialist policy that the United States has tried to carry out by the instrumentality of the stooge administration, have defeated its "special war", and are defeating its local war. In particular, since early 1968, the South Vietnamese people have entered the period of general offensives and uprisings, repeatedly scored resounding victories, and radically changed the military situation in South Viet Nam. The military and political forces of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation have strongly developed; the national front against U.S. aggression, for national salvation have been broadened and strengthened with the coming into existence of the Viet Nam Alliance of National, Democratic and Peace Forces and other patriotic organizations. The U.S.—puppet clique is sinking ever deeper into a passive, defensive position; the puppet administration machine is disintegrating by big chunks, the puppet army has seriously weakened.

The unconditional cessation by the United States of the bombardments on the entire territory of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and its acceptance of the holding of the four-party Conference on Viet Nam in Paris with the participation of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation constitute a very important victory of the Vietnamese people in both zones.

As a result of repeated defeats — military, political and diplomatic — the United States has landed in an increasingly difficult position in the political, economic, financial and social field. As admitted by U.S. President Nixon himself, "the most difficult and urgent problem of the United States is now the war in Viet Nam".

II

ANY correct political solution to the Viet Nam problem must guarantee the Vietnamese people's fundamental national rights—the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam.

On May 8, 1969, proceeding from a desire to reach a political settlement of the Viet Nam problem, and on the basis of its Political Programme,

the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation put forward ten points laying down the principles and main content of an overall solution to the South Viet Nam problem, to help restore peace in Viet Nam. This 10-point overall solution is aimed at achieving the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people.

On May 14, 1969, U.S. President Nixon set forth an 8-point "peace program". In an attempt to fool public opinion, U.S. President Nixon's 8-point program also speaks of the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people. But taking up concrete problems especially in the two crucial issues — the withdrawal of troops and ensuring the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination — it is clear that the United States is opposed to these fundamental national rights.

THE WITHDRAWAL OF TROOPS

THE Vietnamese people have never done any encroachment on American territory; in contrast the U.S. Government has sent over half a million U.S. troops and over 60,000 men from other foreign countries belonging to its camp to commit aggression against South Viet Nam. That is an undeniable fact.

In its overall solution, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has proceeded from this fact to pose and resolve the question of troop withdrawals: the United States has committed aggression on Viet Nam, so it must stop the aggression, and withdraw from South Viet Nam all its troops and those of the foreign countries of its camp without posing any condition whatsoever. The Vietnamese people have the right to fight wherever the enemy is, to defend their Fatherland; that is their sacred and inalienable right of self-defence. The question of the Vietnamese armed forces in South Viet Nam shall be solved by the Vietnamese parties among themselves.

If the United States really respects the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, it must recognize the right of the latter to fight against foreign aggression, and defend their Fatherland. But in fact, the United States arrogantly denies that right, regards South Viet Nam as a separate State, cooks up the story of an "aggression of the North against the South" in an attempt to justify and cover up its own aggression, to put on the same level the aggressor and the anti-aggression fighter. Proceeding from this sheer fabrication, it impudently demands "a mutual withdrawal of troops".

Of late, the United States has given noisy publicity to the "unilateral" withdrawal of a number of troops. Its purpose is to soothe public opinion which is demanding the cessation of the war, the total and unconditional withdrawal of U.S. troops and those of other foreign countries belonging to the American camp, and also to cover up its schemes for carrying on the war, prolonging its military occupation, and clinging to South Viet Nam.

THE EXERCISE OF THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE PEOPLE'S RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION.

THE 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has laid down principles to achieve the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination through free and democratic elections without foreign interference.

In his 8-point program, U.S. President Nixon has also set forth deceitful contentions about free and democratic elections.

But the crucial question is how to ensure that the general elections in South Viet Nam will be really free and democratic.

On this subject, the U.S. position is:

— To hold general elections while U.S. troops still occupy South Viet Nam.

— To maintain the Thieu-Ky-Huong stooge administration for the holding of the general elections, and to take its so-called "constitution" as a basis for the organization of these elections.

Everybody knows that so long as U.S. troops occupy South Viet Nam, the South Vietnamese people cannot have really free and democratic elections without foreign interference.

Everybody knows that the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration is but U.S. instrument of aggression and has no other ideal than to preserve its interests with the blood of other people. It has been installed and maintained in power through U.S. bayonets and dollars. It ruthlessly massacre the rural populations, impudently suppress all those people in towns, who stand for peace, independence, and neutrality, including religious forces. It is opposed to peace, to a correct political solution to the South Viet Nam problem. That is the reason why in South Vietnamese towns and cities, first of all in Saigon a movement is surging up for the replacement of Thieu-Ky-Huong, and the formation of a peace cabinet with a view to bringing about favourable conditions for the settlement of the South Viet Nam problem.

It is clear that the United States is striving to maintain the bellicose and corrupt Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration so as to oppose the aspirations of the South Vietnamese people who are firmly demanding its overthrow, and to organize fraudulent elections as it had done in the past. As a number of personalities in the U.S. political circles have rightly observed, the United States is scheming to hold elections "while Thieu-Ky hold the key of the ballot-box".

Under the pressure of public opinion, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers and a number of other American personalities have recently spoken of setting up "Joint Commissions", "amending the Constitution" of the Saigon regime with a view to organizing general elections in South Viet Nam. In fact, these are only tricks to cover up the basic design of the United States of preserving the puppet administration and their reactionary political regime in South Viet Nam.

To ensure that the general elections will be really free and democratic, the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation has made clear in its overall solution:

— "The people of South Viet Nam decide themselves the political regime of South Viet Nam through free and democratic general elections..." (Point 4).

— "During the period intervening between the restoration of peace and the general elections neither party shall impose its political regime on the people of South Viet Nam.

"The political forces representing the various social strata and political tendencies in South Viet Nam that stand for peace, independence and neutrality including those persons who, for political reasons, have to live abroad, will enter into talks to set up a provisional coalition government based on the principle of equality, democracy and mutual

respect with a view to achieving a peaceful, independent, democratic and neutral South Viet Nam." (Point 5).

If the United States means to respect the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination through really free and democratic general elections, it must not oppose the formation of a broad provitional coalition government with a view to holding the general elections as provided for in the 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation.

From this, everybody can see that the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation advocates achieving the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination in the fullest meaning of this word, in national concord and in a very realistic spirit. In contrast, the United States speaks of this right only to oppose it.

The 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, being very reasonable and logical, has elicited warm welcome from the entire Vietnamese people and from peace- and justice-loving people in the world ever since it was made public. It constitutes a sum-up of the tenacious struggle waged by the Vietnamese people over the past fifteen years for independence and peace and is a correct application of the basic principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements in the actual situation in Viet Nam.

III

THE South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives held in early June this year made decisions on important questions of the South Vietnamese people's resistance against U.S. aggression, for national salvation in the new period; it set up the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Advisory Council to the said Government.

This historic event marks a new, very great victory of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

It is the brilliant outcome of military, political and diplomatic victories, an inevitable development in the struggle for the right to be masters of South Viet Nam that the South Vietnamese people have been waging throughout the past fifteen years, and especially since early 1968.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam was unanimously elected by the South Viet Nam Congress of People's Representatives in which were represented all social strata, nationalities, religious communities, mass organizations and political parties in South Viet Nam. Its composition reflects national union and will be further broadened in the course of development of the resistance war so as to afford all patriotic forces more conditions for participation in state power. Its program voices the deep aspirations of the South Vietnamese people—that is to defeat the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression, to overthrow the reactionary puppet administration, to completely liberate South Viet Nam, to create basic conditions for the building of an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet Nam, progressing towards the peaceful reunification of the Fatherland. The Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam is the legal government, the authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people. Its formation is a clear manifestation of the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination, and has exposed the so-called "constitutionality" and "legality" of the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration.

The Provisional Revolutionary Government has pledged to mobilize the South Viet Nam armed forces and people, to turn to account the favourable conditions of the new period, and to push forward the struggle against US aggression, for national salvation. Such is the unshakable resolve of the South Vietnamese people to fight on until there remains not a single foreign aggressor on Vietnamese soil.

At the same time, the Provisional Revolutionary Government has clearly shown an attitude of goodwill:

— At the Paris Conference on Viet Nam, it has assumed the role of authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people handed over to it by the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation, and it has recognized the 10-point overall solution of the NFL as its position of struggle.

— With the desire to achieve a very broad national union in the supreme interests of the country and the nation, it has stated its readiness to enter into consultation with all political forces in South Viet Nam, that stand for peace, independence and neutrality with a view to setting up a provisional coalition government in a spirit of equality, democracy and mutual respect.

The coming into existence of the Provisional Revolutionary Government is a factor which encourages the South Vietnamese people to fight on tenaciously, and at the same time, a factor leading towards a correct political settlement of the Viet Nam problem.

That is the reason why the Vietnamese people in the North and in the South, including the people in still temporarily occupied towns and cities, have warmly hailed the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, and have expressed their full confidence in its policies and program of action. Within a very short time, over twenty Asian, European, African and Latin American governments have recognized, and established diplomatic relations with the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam. Communist and workers' parties, many international or regional organizations, international conferences, well-known personalities all over the world have sent messages and issued statements voicing warm support for it. Progressive American public opinion has also taken a favourable attitude to the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam, and is strongly criticizing the obduracy of the Nixon Administration.

IV

THE Nixon Administration has inherited from the Johnson Administration a war that is costly in terms of men and money and doomed to total defeat. Judging from his promises during last year's election campaign and following his entry in the White House, it might be thought that President Nixon would seek an early end to the Viet Nam war and an early withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Viet Nam. But facts during the past six months have pointed to quite the opposite.

With the shift from the "search and destroy and pacification" strategy to the strategy of "clear

and hold", the United States has kept intensifying the war in South Viet Nam, bombing and destroying villages and urban centres, forcibly herding the people into disguised concentration camps committing new extremely barbarous crimes. It is trying in this way to gain a "position of strength". In the meantime, it has kept violating the sovereignty and security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam; it has intensified bombardments in Laos, and has gone so far as to send U.S.marines for operations on Lao territory, it has repeatedly encroached upon the territory of the Kingdom of Cambodia.

From President Nixon's 8-point program and his June 19, 1969 statement to the U.S.-puppet Midway Joint Communiqué, the United States has clearly revealed its obduracy and its perfidious schemes. It still evades the question of total and unconditional withdrawal of its troops and those of other foreign countries belonging to its camp by demanding a "mutual withdrawal of forces". It continues to support the Thieu-Ky-Huong puppet administration, to oppose the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination and the formation of a provisional coalition Government in South Viet Nam.

The Nixon Administration is now making every effort to carry out the so-called "de-Americanization" and "Vietnamization" of the war. This does not mean that it has drawn a lesson from its heavy defeats in the past year and more, and that it wants to bring the Viet Nam war to an end. In fact, this is only a trick to carry on and intensify the war under new signboards, and to prolong the presence of the U.S. Expeditionary Corps in South Viet Nam. This scheme shows that the U.S. aggressors are in a vicious circle, evidences the failure of the plan for high degree "Americanization" of the Viet Nam war during the past four years and foreshadows a still heavier defeat for the U.S. in Viet Nam.

Since the new U.S. President took office, the economic, financial, social and political difficulties of the United States at home and abroad have been increasing, and therefore, the movement of opposition to the war of aggression in Viet Nam has also been mounting.

In the United States, the broad masses of students, working people, servicemen, social workers, intellectuals, lawyers, religious believers have staged many demonstrations demanding the cessation of the Viet Nam war and withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Viet Nam. Thousands of American businessmen have urged the Nixon Administration to get out forthwith of the Viet Nam war so as to save the interest of the United States.

The peoples of the world, the governments of the socialist and other countries, world public opinion are stepping up the struggle to support the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression, to support the 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation; to support the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Viet Nam; to firmly demand that the United States withdraw totally and unconditionally from South Viet Nam its troops and those of other foreign countries belonging to its camp, and strictly respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, and the South Vietnamese people's right of self-determination.

The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam express their deep gratitude for this warm and valuable support and aid, and their firm conviction that the fraternal socialist countries, the peace- and justice-loving governments and peoples, the progressive international organizations, and progressive American public opinion will strengthen their solidarity with the Vietnamese people till total victory.

The Vietnamese people are deeply attached to peace, but a true peace in genuine independence, and freedom. As long as the U.S. imperialists obdurately persist in their aggression against Viet Nam, the Vietnamese people will fight on tenaciously till they have achieved their fundamental national rights, thereby contributing to the preservation of peace in Indo-China and in Asia.

THE 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam are the result of the victorious struggle waged by the Vietnamese people against colonialism during several decades. That is also a victory of the socialist countries, of the French people and of the peace- and justice-loving peoples throughout the world.

Over the past fifteen years, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Vietnamese people have unswervingly remained faithful to the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements and have scrupulously fulfilled their obligations under these Agreements. The Vietnamese people have braved U.S. bombs, undergone all kinds of sacrifices and hardships, and fought staunchly to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet Nam, as well as the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements. The four-point stand set forth by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam four years ago is a concentrated expression of these principles. Both the Political Programme and the 10-point overall solution of the South Viet Nam National Front for Liberation proceed from them. The struggle of the world's peoples against the U.S. "escalation" in North Viet Nam and the U.S. war of aggression in South Viet Nam, to demand that the United States respect the fundamental national rights of the Vietnamese people, is also aimed at defending the fundamental principles of the Geneva Agreements, as well as peace and justice.

Over the past fifteen years, the United States have systematically sabotaged the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam in an attempt to turn South Viet Nam into a U.S. military base and neo-colony, to prolong the partition of Viet Nam, and, at the same time, to threaten the national liberation movement in Indo-China and South-East Asia. After violating these Agreements, the United States has gone to the length of committing armed aggression. After repudiating the Geneva Agreements, it has been compelled to state its readiness to respect them, but only to distort them, in fact. It has, however, met with dismal failure: the fundamental principles of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam have withstood all attempts at distortion and sabotage by the United States and its flunkeys.

The Vietnamese people who enjoy ever greater international support, have given added strength to the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam, whose vitality has thus increased.

No matter what schemes and tricks they may resort to with a view to distorting and misusing the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Viet Nam in an attempt to cling on to South Viet Nam, the U.S. imperialists are doomed to total defeat.

The Vietnamese people will win!

Hanoi, July 12, 1969

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Democratic Republic of Viet Nam